

SOCIALISM MADE PLAIN.

WHY THE FEW ARE RICH AND THE MANY POOR.

By Allan L. Benson

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(Continued from last week.)

On the other hand, if he wished to buy a piano, he could make a payment of "47½ hours" on it. Now there is no means of knowing, unless one be in the business of manufacturing pianos, how many hours labor are represented in the manufacture of a piano from the time the necessary wood is cut in the forests and the ores are mined from the ground until the finished piano is ready for a Beethoven to make the angel choirs peer down at earth. But it is tolerably certain that 47½ hours of labor—a few minutes cutting a tree, a few minutes sawing it and planing the boards, a few more mining the necessary minerals and the rest of the time at fashioning the raw materials and putting them together—would make a big start toward completing a piano. But perhaps the labor represented in a piano that now sells for \$650 would be equivalent to the labor of one man for 500 hours—probably 250 hours would be nearer the correct figure, but let's err if at all on the side of liberality. If "500 hours" be the price of a piano that now sells for \$650, is it not apparent that a laborer who received his full product represented by a labor-time check for "47½ hours," could pay for the piano in a little more than 10 weeks?

How long would it take the man who now works eight hours a day in a shoe-shop for \$10 a week to pay for a \$650 piano? Only 65 weeks. How long would it take such a laborer to pay for such a piano if he received all of his product—\$50 a week—instead of one-fifth of it, but were compelled to use money as a medium of exchange and meet a price-mark on the piano that concealed its real value? Thirteen weeks.

Of course it may be said that if the government controlled all industry in behalf of the people, it would not strive to make a profit and therefore would have no incentive to charge more than cost for a piano. True enough. But a medium of exchange that does not clearly indicate the number of hours devoted to the production of an article loses sight of a vital fact that is likely to do injustice to the baker who desires to exchange his 10-hour product for the 10-hour product of the weaver. The moment the attempt is made to translate labor-hours into dollars and cents that moment error is likely to creep in, even with the best of intentions. The only safe way is to make the price of an article the product of the same number of hours of useful labor that were required to produce the first article.

That, in brief, is the Socialist idea of a just medium of exchange. When Socialism comes, ALL the people will take this idea and, after giving it their best consideration, do as they please with it. That they will not reject it as a whole is certain, because it has a fundamental element of justice that is apparent.

That the people will not adapt it as a whole is just as certain. No human brain is great enough to sit down and outline a revolutionary change in our medium of exchange and not err in some minor details. Experience must show the weak points and they must be strengthened as they develop. One weak point can already be seen. If two men were sawing wood and one should saw 10 cords in 48 hours and the other by working harder should saw 12, it would of course be manifestly unjust to give each a labor-time check for 48 hours, provided each had the same health and strength. It would be too costly to put an overseer at each woodpile where two men were working. Possibly EXACT justice could never be brought about in such cases. But Socialists nevertheless adhere to their theory on the ground that it would come much nearer justice than is possible under the present medium of exchange. For, in cases like that of the woodcutter who might saw 12 cords of wood and be given a labor-time check that would enable him to buy back only 10 cords, he would nevertheless receive five-sixths of his product, instead of the one-fifth that labor now receives in the form of wages.

Then again? Socialists regard all kinds of useful labor, generally speaking, as equally valuable to society and therefore deserving of the same compensation. That's why they would let the wood-cutter's 10 hours of labor buy the product of the piano-maker's 10 hours at 1118 trade. As a matter of man-to-man justice the position is impregnable—at least Socialists think so and are willing to defend it against all comers. Yet Socialists can see a strong probability that experience would show the desirability if not the necessity of making slight variations in a few cases. For while Socialists maintain that, generally speaking, all kinds of labor are equally valuable to society, they realize that a few kinds of labor are not equally AGREEABLE. Nor are their eyes closed to the fact that certain other kinds of labor are of extraordinary VALUE to society.

So, under Socialism, the Edison and the sewer-digger might—in fact they WOULD—get more than the rest of us, the first as a matter of enthusiastic appreciation, the second as a matter of stern justice.

WHY ALL FORMS OF USEFUL LABOR ARE OF EQUAL VALUE.

Under the labor-time check medium of exchange proposed by Socialists, any laborer could exchange the wealth he produced in any given number of hours for the wealth produced by any other laborer in the same number of hours.

If the labor-time check system be a just system, it must therefore follow that all forms of useful labor are equally valuable to society.

Else the laborer whose product was of great value would be wronged in exchanging it upon even terms for the wealth produced by a laborer whose product was of small value.

To prove that the labor-time check medium of exchange would, in practice, prove to be a just medium, it therefore be-

comes necessary to prove that the product of one man's labor, hour for hour, is worth no more than the product of any other man's labor.

And it may as well be admitted at the start that while Socialists contend that the rule would hold absolutely good in practically all cases, that they believe its application would show the necessity of making a few exceptions.

In other words, they would give extraordinary compensation for extraordinary service as a matter of gratitude, rather than as a strict obligation of justice. And the exceptions of a decade could probably be noted on the fingers of one hand.

This may sound strange now—this idea of giving extraordinary compensation as a matter of gratitude instead of duty—but it will be made plain in what is to follow.

And realizing, as Socialists do, that while all forms of useful labor are of equal value to society and therefore entitled to equal compensation, that all forms of labor are not equally agreeable, they would give extraordinary compensation, if necessary, to those who are engaged in some of the particularly disagreeable callings.

And again, they would give extraordinary compensation, if necessary, to those who are doing the most disagreeable work, not because their work is of more value to society than the work of anybody else, but because experience would doubtless demonstrate the necessity of offering some extraordinary inducement to get the work done.

Now to prove that all forms of useful labor are of equal value to society. Let's begin at the bottom.

Food may well be regarded as the first of man's necessities. Food for civilized man cannot be produced except by applying the labor of man to the earth. So there would seem to be little necessity for enlarging upon the fact that no labor is more useful than the labor of the man who produces food for other men, without which they must die; nor for contending that as a matter of stern justice, no man is entitled to more for his labor than the man who produces food for other men.

We have, then, this first fact: "Man would die without food, but his life has been saved by food that other men have produced."

But the man is naked and standing out doors in a blizzard. Even with food in his stomach, he cannot long survive unless he have clothing.

Clothing is produced for him and the clothing does exactly what the food did—enables him to live.

Second fact: "Man's life had been saved by food, but he was about to die from cold when his life was again saved by clothing that other men had produced."

His hunger satisfied and his body warmly clad, man still lacks something without which he must die. He has no shelter. The winds of winter quickly penetrate his thick clothing and the snow drifts down about him. And for the third time, his life is saved by the action of other men in providing him with the various materials with which a house may be constructed.

Now, let the preceding facts sink into your mind before you proceed. Without food, clothing and shelter, man would most certainly die; no shadow of doubt about it. And since no service can be rendered to man that is more valuable than to prevent him from dying, is it possible, as a matter of actual fact, for any kind of labor to be worthy of greater compensation than that which is devoted to the production of food, clothing and shelter? If you were without all of these things and had been without them even two weeks, is there any thing on this earth for which you would give more, even if you had all the wealth of Wall Street, than something to eat, something to wear and a place to sleep?

So far, so good. We have provided for man, the animal. We have fed, clothed and sheltered him. And however gross it may sound to refined ears, the animal part of man is a most important part. A man who is not a good animal is not likely to be a good anything. A good body is necessary to a good brain. But a man who has merely a good body is fit to rank only with the beasts. To be a man in the highest and best sense of the word, he must be developed intellectually and morally as well as physically. He must have access to those things that tend to develop the brain, exalt the mind and coax into blossom all of the latent potentialities for good that are in him. Else he will remain merely an animal. To the extent that he obtains these things, he will rise above those living things that are content with food, warmth and protection from the elements. To the extent that he is denied them, he will settle back into that class. And the things that man needs to develop him to the utmost are almost as numerous as the sands of the sea and are more diversified in character than the hues of an Italian sunset.

He must have learning. For centuries, astronomers have sat through weary nights to scan the heavens, all for him—to wrest from the realms of endless space a meager knowledge of how the world was made and why the planets keep on their tireless ways with all the precision of delicately adjusted machines. Other men have sailed the seas in storm and calm to wrest still further secrets from nature. They have tempted death in the far corners of the earth to gratify the insatiable desire of man to know. Others have written books, composed music, painted pictures and done innumerable other things, all of which are necessary to the greatest development of man's powers to rise above the purely animal.

Is the work of the astronomer, then, less valuable, or deserving of less compensation than that of the farmer, the weaver, or the carpenter? It is true that man could exist without any definite knowledge of whether the moon was made of green cheese or baked hay, but is ignorance of anything that men have been able to discover pertaining to the mysteries of the universe in keeping with the highest type of mental development? On the other hand, is the work of the astronomer more important, or deserving of higher compensation than that of the farmer who maintains the animal, without which the mental and moral parts of man could not exist?

Is the work of the men who provide the world with mirth and melody less important, or deserving of less compensation than the work of the farmer, the cotton planter, or the house-builder? It is true that man could exist without mirth or melody. Dumb animals do. But what a sorry world it would be without them. How many hearts would stay heavy for the lack of the soothing influence of song, or the mirth that revives the drooping spirits at the end of the day's struggle. The fact that man enjoys mirth and melody shows that his nature requires them; that he cannot be a whole man without them. Yet are the makers of mirth and melody entitled to greater compensation than the farmer who supplies the food for the physical body, without which mirth and melody could not be enjoyed because life could not exist?

It is the same with all kinds of useful labor. Look closely into those lines of human endeavor that at first glance may seem the least important and far down in their depths will be seen the plans of the Infinite, working for man's good. Every man engaged in useful industry has his work to do and if he were to cease work, the world would miss him. It may seem as if the man who is engaged in making a child's undershirt is more useful to society than the man who makes children's toys, but it is doubtful if even this is true. Childhood demands amusement. God made it so. The child that has no toys is a sad child and an additional care to its mother. A sad child is an abnormal child, for mirth and gaiety are the qualities of natural childhood. An abnormal child is more likely than a normal child to become an abnormal adult. And abnormal adults are the penalties inflicted upon a careless world for ignoring the rules of right and wrong. "The world makes its own criminals," says Lombroso, the celebrated Italian criminologist. It is doubtful if the world knows how many criminals are made in childhood. Few persons become criminals after they have reached maturity. At any rate, it may be said that the world demands toys as well as undershirts for its children and as a matter of justice, it ought, therefore, to give as much compensation to the toymaker as it does to the shirt-maker, because the toymaker would be just as willing to make shirts as toys if the world, by withdrawing its demand for his product, would signify its desire that he produce something else.

Then there are certain callings that the world now seems to consider deserving of extraordinary compensation, not only because of their nature, but on account of the length of time that must be devoted to study before work can be begun. Of this class of highly paid labor, the physician is a good type. The physician prolongs life—at least theoretically. But the physician would never get a chance to earn a fee, or his patient a chance to draw the first breath, if it were not for the farmer who supplies both with food. On the other hand, the carpenter and many other laborers, who are paid much less for their labor than the physicians, devote as much time to learning their trades as the physicians devote to learning how to do their work. And the tools that a good carpenter must have cost him as much as the ordinary physician's medical books cost. Not only that, the physician is usually educated in a university at the expense of the state, while the carpenter pays for his instruction by working for years as an apprentice for little or no wages.

Look wherever you will among those to whom the world is now giving extraordinary compensation and in a great majority of the cases you will find no valid reason for the discrimination that exists. Most of the highly-paid men are paid highly because they are proficient in the art of wresting profits from the world, either for themselves, or for the men who pay them their salaries. As we are doing things now, it is a very valuable man who can buy for two cents a yard of cloth that cost three cents to make and then sell it for four cents. And the man who can manipulate a stock market or get 10 per cent more than the average amount of work out of a big force of men can live in a palace if he can only find large enough scope for his peculiar activities. His ability as a slave-driver was one of the qualifications for his position that were possessed by the first president of the steel trust. But what does the world profit, merely because a man has the ability to buy commodities cheaply and sell them dearly, or to wheedle labor into lashing itself to the utmost to produce the most for the least money? As a matter of fact, the world loses by each operation. It is the capitalist who gains.

Under Socialism, much of this "special ability" that we hear so much about would be compelled to devote its energies to more useful purposes, since there would be no occasion for such services in a world that had decided to eliminate profit by making things for public use instead of for private gain.

Then, there are other kinds of labor that are as useful to society as that of the farmer, the weaver or the carpenter, but are less agreeable. In fact, they are disagreeable. No great city could long exist if there were no sewers, and the digging of sewers is not only very unpleasant, but very unhealthful work. Yet somebody must dig the sewers in order that the rest may live. Of course the sewer digger who prevents a man from dying of disease at 50 performs no more useful service to that man than the farmer who produced the food that prevented him from dying at birth—or rather, that enabled him to be born at all. Yet Socialism contemplates the probable necessity of paying the sewer digger more for his work than the farmer would be given for producing the world's food supply. If the sewer digger, under Socialism, were to be paid more than the farmer, his extraordinary compensation, however, would not be because of any belief that his work was the more valuable, but because society would recognize that it was plainly more disagreeable work than that of the farmer.

As to how much more the sewer digger should be paid than the farmer, experience would have to determine. Society would simply have to place a premium on sewer digging in the form of extra compensation until the inducement was sufficient to tempt men into the trenches in order that they might gain free-

dom from all toil that much earlier in their lives. And the diggers can be drafted from any rank of life, if the compensation offered be sufficiently alluring. Offer \$100 a day for sewer digging and any city can even empty its office buildings. The anxious will their occupants be to increase their incomes. On the other hand, the necessity of paying exorbitant prices for such disagreeable work will always be avoided because of the increased supply of laborers that will seek employment at the moment the inducement becomes greater than most men would demand. And whatever the price for sewer digging may be because of its extraordinary unpleasantness, it will be worth and will consent to toil, even if that price be three or five times the price paid for the farmer's work.

Premiums in the form of extra compensation would doubtless also have to be offered to a few other kinds of laborers, the coal miners, for instance, who imperil their lives and health to provide the world's coal supply. But, as in the case of the sewer digger, the extra compensation would arise, not because coal is more valuable than food, but because digging coal is more disagreeable than farming.

But aside from a few particularly disagreeable callings like the ones mentioned, it is plain that society would not be compelled to offer extra compensation in order to get all the laborers it might desire in any line. Men's tastes are so diversified that no occupation would lack for laborers. In fact, all useful labor paid the same, many that are now engaged in the so-called aristocratic occupations would prefer manual labor on the farm or in the workshop. There are plenty of men working in offices in every city who would rather run an engine in a factory or work on a farm than to pour over books, if the compensation in each case were the same. And this statement will be the more readily believed when the fact is considered that all were engaged in productive industry and each were to receive all of his product instead of only one-fifth of it, it would be necessary for anyone to work more than three or four hours a day in order to live as well as or better than he does now.

But under the actual operations of the Socialist system of industry, men would have to do the work for which they were best fitted just the same as they do now, except that under Socialism, the individual would have a better opportunity to ascertain the particular occupation for which he was best adapted, because poverty would not compel him so often to take the first thing he could get. But, in the long run, the good blacksmith who persisted in being a bad musician would have to go back to the forge just the same as he now has to do. Common sense would not be dethroned under Socialism. On the contrary, it would be intensified and developed.

In the first part of this chapter, it was said that under Socialism, men like Edison would doubtless be given extraordinary compensation, "as a matter of gratitude, rather than as a strict obligation of justice." (Conceding, as Socialists do, the extraordinary value of the services performed by a man like Edison who forms one of the very few exceptions to the rule of the equal value of all labor, it doubtless seems strange to suggest that the extraordinary compensation should be for anything except the discharge of a direct obligation on the part of society to the individual. Here is the explanation:

Edison could not have done what he has done in the way of invention if other inventors had not blazed the way from utter ignorance up to the point from which he started. They labored before he was born to make it possible for Edison to begin where he did. Society cared for these early inventors while they were struggling to unravel nature's secrets by providing them with food, clothing and shelter. And during all the intervening years, other laborers have supported universities in order that the accomplishments of these early inventors might be cherished and the knowledge regarding them handed down from one generation to another. It is a recognized principle of law that any invention, even if it be a patentable one, belongs to society after a certain number of years, and therefore Edison is indebted to society for the knowledge that has enabled him to accomplish what he has brought about. Furthermore, it was Edison's environment and the environment of his ancestors, the effects of which were inherited by him that enabled him to take up his work where others had left it. And it should also be remembered that it is society that has given to Edison's inventions all the value they possess. It is the people here who have made the electric light and the telephone valuable. If Edison were to take the electric light and the telephone to the heart of Africa, they would not be worth anything.

Nevertheless, Socialists would favor the giving to Edison, "as a mark of gratitude and enthusiastic appreciation, rather than as a strict obligation of justice," of a lump sum perhaps, that would enable him to indulge to the utmost any desire that he might have for travel, study, or modest luxury and the chances are that he or any other inventor would be better satisfied with such an honorarium than with the uncertain rewards that now come to inventors who, because of the infringement of their patents, are compelled to pay for expensive litigation.

But each generation produces so few men of Edison's rank that the Socialist contention regarding the equal value of all kinds of useful labor would not be seriously disturbed.

These, then, are the reasons why Socialists hold that the labor-time check medium of exchange, which would enable any worker to exchange his product for a given number of hours of the product of any other laborer made in the same length of time, would do justice to all and injury to none. Like every good rule outside of mathematics it has a few exceptions and Socialists are rather proud of the fact that these exceptions would result in giving the greatest compensation to men of really extraordinary ability and to those who do the most disagreeable useful labor, instead of making sewer diggers and coal miners the most poorly paid laborers in the world, as capitalism does.

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PROBLEM BEGINS WITH THE CITY.

MARK OBSERVATION ON THE INSIGNIFICANCE OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

"Commune of Paris," says the author in his pamphlet: "The Paris Commune of 1871 is at least the first time in history that the economic deliverance of the people can be effected by the discovery then—that the self-government of the community must be the foundation of the construction of the republic can be erected—that the main result of the Paris Commune of Paris after a month's existence, was still the same, a centralized capitalistic state. The commune has risen not only in Paris, but in 415 French cities and towns. Six hundred and fifteen communes—of which 200 are managed by Socialists—sent delegates to the municipal council which lately was held in Paris. The strong hand of the central government, however, keeps its hold on the communities and hinders the development at every step. The commune has only a limited right of self-government, which is partly felt in the system of taxation. The lower classes have, in the form of the indirect taxes on meat and flour, to bear almost the whole burden of the costs of government. In spite of this, the Socialistic movement has accomplished great results, as for instance, in Lille, the city has been in the short time of four years completely transformed."

As in France, so all communities in the civilized world—America included—suffer from the want of self-government. The state has its power upon them all. The large cities experience this obstacle the most."

It is absurd that in America also representatives of rural districts are empowered to make laws for the cities. The ideas, the interests, the habits of life of the population of rural districts differ from those of the population of industrial districts and large cities, yet the state legislature acts as a guardian over the communities, dictates what they shall do and what they shall not do. Nothing is more natural than that the railway companies, the gas and water companies, etc., will make use of this for their own advantage. This such a senseless system, for instance, the railroads are exempted from city taxes on their immense real estate properties. The small property holders are therefore taxed more. And they shift this burden upon their tenants by increasing the rent. Through this control over the state, the capitalists can easily oppress and exploit the laboring classes, while with a true autonomy of the community, it would be far easier for them to do so.

The Socialists of all countries have seen this clearly, and they therefore strive for "full self-government."

ernment of the communities." The already existing rights are employed by them in the interests of the working men, as soon as they are in the position to make their power felt. They don't wait with their work of transforming the municipal management for the day of deliverance from the bondage of the centralized state. By adequate reforms they are to transform the community into a powerful means with which to counteract the moral and physical misery of the laborers which capitalism always produces, and to contribute to the spiritual and physical regeneration of the laboring class.

It is therefore the first task for the Socialists to do their utmost to get into the municipal government, to promote this influence, to strive for the autonomy of the communities and to enlarge their economic and political power.

And the American communities, particularly the industrial large cities, suffer not only from the lack of self-government. Thanks to the indifference and the ignorance of the voters the cities have become the domain of the professional politician. Politics with them is a business and hence they yield readily to bribery. They keep a horde of toughs and political huns to influence elections in their interests. The community has thus to feed this political vermin, which gets on the pay roll, yet does no useful work. These parasites suck the blood of the community with the result that the revenues are always short, and public needs, such as the cleaning of streets, improvements, etc., are interfered with or bonds have to be issued. There are probably only a very few communities in the United States who are not grossly in debt.

Now it is the workingmen who under such conditions have to suffer most. The working quarters are, in regard to sanitary conditions, entirely neglected, resulting in great mortality among the children of the proletariat, and the proletarians themselves.

This alone proves the necessity of the conquering of the municipality by the party of the workingmen: the Social-Democratic party. It alone has an honest interest in the transformation of the government of the communities, and therefore alone is capable of making the community a political institution, which takes care of the public welfare. The conquering of the municipalities is naturally but the first step in the conquering of the political power by the laboring class.

A Significant Milwaukee Item.—Candidates for Republican nominations for senators and assembly are not as plentiful as they have been in other years. This fact is partially due to the fact that some of the districts have been made doubtful by the largely increased Social-Democratic vote. — Milwaukee Free Press.

This paper may be had ten weeks for ten cents. Try it.

Be Content, Ye Oppressed!

There's honest John Hawkins, a hedger and ditcher, who, though he is poor, does not want to be richer; for all such vain wishes in him are prevented—by a fortunate habit of being contented.

Though cold be the weather, and dear be the food, John never is found in a murmuring mood. And this is frequently heard to declare—What he cannot prevent he will cheerfully bear.

"For why should I grumble?" he often has said, "if I cannot get meat I can surely get bread. And though fretting will make my calamities deeper, it never will make bread and cheese any cheaper."

So he cheerfully toils at such tasks as are sent, and whatever his fare he is always content. O, I wish that some folks who are smarter and richer would copy John Hawkins, the hedger and ditcher.

He lives in the village there on my estate, whose improvement employs him early and late. There live many other such people as he, for whose livelihood they are indebted to me.

They have sense in their heads, they have strength in their hands, but of what use would these be except for my lands? So they humbly with me thank the Heavenly bounty which gave them stout muscles and me half a county.

They have built me a mansion with terraces fair and towers rising gracefully high in the air. To me every season they cheerfully yield each man the first fruits of his flock or his field.

Their souls with mean envy are nowise distressed, they just do the labor and I do the rest. No questions are asked how I came to be richer, thanks, largely, to John Hawkins, the hedger and ditcher.

But soon in the future, a time I foresee, when this sweet state of things will far different be; for Cobden and Bright and that pestilent crew, more mischief have done than they set out to do.

With specious pretense they encourage the poor to rebel against the God who would have them endure. And all the land over, wherever they went, they sowed the foul seeds of the weed Discontent.

Soon questions and arguments on every side God's wise dispensations will boldly deride. O, would that some folks who are smarter and richer were more like John Hawkins, the hedger and ditcher!

Old Rhyme.

Notice, Philadelphia. Everybody wishing to subscribe for the "Social-Democratic Herald" drop a postal to Jos. P. Nick, 317 N. 8th st., and will receive prompt attention.

I feel sure that the time will come when people will find it difficult to believe that a rich community such as ours, having such command over external Nature, could have submitted to live such a mean, shabby, dirty life as we do. —Wm. Morris.

Economic Truths.

Casting off the gloom of midnight; Glinting o'er the hills of Time; Dancin' in the mists of dawn; Stream new rays of Truth Divine.

Truth released from ancient bondage; Atrike thought and rusty chain; Burdened with the restless longings Of unsettled Past due claims.

Economic facts unfolding; Shedding light on "dismal" ground; Heralds of Emancipation, Truths Divine, and wholly sound.

Henry B. Ashplant.

London, Ontario, Meb. 1904.

"Justice" in Plutocratic America!

Williams was a brakeman employed on the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western Railroad, and was badly injured July 8, 1882. He sued the railroad for injuries and on the initial trial was awarded \$4,000. This verdict was set aside, and on the second trial he was awarded \$4,900. Upon appeal the finding was upheld by the Appellate Court, but was reversed by the Court of Appeals, which ordered a new trial. On the third trial the complaint was dismissed. Then Williams appealed and the first Appellate Court upheld the dismissal, but the plaintiff went to the Court of Appeals which had formerly ruled against him. This time, however, it sided with him, and once more ordered a new trial—the fourth!

Then came a verdict for the injured employe in the sum of \$4,500, which was, in due course of time, reversed by the first Appellate Court and the matter stood where it started. On the fifth trial the plaintiff won as before, being awarded \$4,900. Again the railroad appealed and again reversed the decision and obtained the usual new trial. On this sixth trial the customary verdict was recorded for the plaintiff, being \$4,500, and this award was upheld by the first Appellate Court. Finally, by the decision of the Court of Appeals late in January, 1904, the case was closed in Williams's favor—twenty-one years after the accident and at the cost of six trials and ten appeals. —Everybody's Magazine.

The Milwaukee Election. With that memorable concluding speech, with which Socialism was to be downed and subdued forever, a crime had been committed against the class to which, by reason of his being the paid servant of the organized toilers, this disciple also ought to belong; a crime that has met with the strongest condemnation of all honest people, and even has aroused the contempt of our honest adversaries. The seed sown at the Boston convention was destined to bring forth fruit in Milwaukee already. Those memorable words: "Economically you are un-sound, socially you are an impossibility," were used in this campaign as a weapon by the wealth-possessing class. The capitalist class went

Some Gems from the Writings of Liebknecht.

In a municipality, which is a state within a state, the subordination of the subject majority to the special interests of the ruling minority stands out more plainly than in a great state, since ruler and ruled, physically nearer, are in direct personal contact with each other.

The instruments of production must cease to be the monopoly of a class—they must be the public property of all. There shall be no more exploiter or exploited. Production and distribution of the produce must be regulated in the interest of the whole. As the present production, exploitation and robbery must be abolished, so likewise must the present traffic, which is only fraud.

Poverty is the share of labor, riches the portion of the idle. The workers who have created the so-called wealth are shut out from it. It is the monopoly of the non-workers. In this way the inequality becomes the most revolting injustice. And this injustice is a scar on our famed civilization, that every one who has a spark of the sense of justice must strive to clear away.

The clear statement of our party programme stamps as a slander the assertion of our opponents that Socialism will secure the ruling power in the state for the laboring class. We have already said that the idea of mastery is above all undemocratic and consequently in opposition to the principles of Socialism. All demands for liberty made by democracy are likewise demands of the Social-Democracy.

The difference between democratic and social-democratic is that the latter sees the consequences which the former, entangled in civil prejudices, has not the courage to see. Social-democracy is consequently actual democracy.

You know how the Social-Democracy is represented as a red specter, how the ecclesiastical associations say of us that we are a party of atheists and that the



Social-Democrats would forcibly take religion from every one and violently crush the church. In order to take the foundation from and to break the point of these demagogical slanders and pious falsehoods, we state here that the regulation of religious matters lies with each individual, and we declare religion to be a private matter. I admit that I struggled for some time against taking up these practical considerations, since their meaning seemed so self-evident in the declaration of the platform. But

in looking back over the systematic calumny of our position in regard to religion it appears necessary that they be stated. The Social-Democracy as such has absolutely nothing to do with religion. Every man has the right to think and believe what he will and no one has the right to molest or limit another in his thoughts or beliefs, or to allow any one's opinions to be a disadvantage to him in any way. Those Social-Democrats who respect the genuineness and worth of their fellow-men will also avoid scoffing at their beliefs. Above all, scoffing at a prejudice is foolish and impolitic, since it but strengthens it. Only education can be of help here.

Individual labor is unproductive. Work, as we have seen, must according to its nature be communistic. Therefore we must have united labor for the advantage of every individual, united labor and united enjoyment of the fruits of labor. This it is which we would establish in place of the present system of exploitation. Socialistic co-operation in place of wage labor!

But what becomes of capital? It remains where it belongs, with labor. There is no capital but through labor. There shall be no capital except for labor.

Labor will be the torture of no one, but the duty of all. An existence worthy of a human being will be provided for every one who performs his duty to society. Hunger will become henceforth not the curse of labor, but the punishment of the idle.

so far as to have big posters, 8 by 6 feet large, put up on bill boards, with the Gompers' ranting words imprinted thereon in big letters. How much of remuneration was thrown to this traitor to his class will never be ascertained, but surely more than those thirty shillings given to Judas Iscariot. That the Judas-coin is not trifling history has time and again proven. The proletarians of this community, who have commenced to do the thinking for themselves, have treated these dishonest actions with contempt, and answered them with a decisive protest against this nefarious act, and the result was that all hopes, even the most sanguine ones, were surpassed. More than 19,000 votes for Socialism, against only 8,500 of two years ago, and the gratifying outcome is that nine comrades will enter the city council and four walk into the county council.—Brewers' Journal.

NAT'L. H'QUARTERS.—The National Organizing Fund now amounts to \$3,193.76.

The national headquarters of the Socialist party has been removed from Omaha and established at Room 300, Boylston Building, 269 Dearborn Street, Chicago. All communications for the National Secretary should be addressed accordingly and all remittances made payable to William Mailly, National Secretary.

The meeting of the national convention will necessarily require the attention of the force in the national office and the National Secretary therefore requests that correspondents take this into account and have patience if their letters do not receive immediate attention. The removal of headquarters just preceding the national convention places the national office force at a temporary disadvantage, but the normal condition of affairs will be restored as soon as possible.

The police of Portland, Ore., are interfering with the right of Socialists to hold street meetings, but the local comrades are determined to resist this usurpation of authority and will continue their agitation notwithstanding.

Reports to the national headquarters are to the effect that a large and representative gathering will be in attendance at the national convention which opens in Chicago May 1st. The National Secretary is arranging to have the official report of the secretary of the convention issued to the Socialist press as soon as the convention closes. Wm. Mailly, Nat'l. Secy.

GIVING THE POOR WORK.

Do not cheat yourself into thinking that all the finery you can wear is so much put into the hungry mouths of those beneath you. It is not so. It is what you yourselves, whether you will or not, must some time feel it to be; it is what those who stand shivering in the streets, forming a line to watch you as you step out of your carriages, know it to be—those fine dresses do not mean that so much has been put into their mouths, but that so much has been taken out of their mouths. — John Ruskin.

THE GRANDER AGE.

Have you seen a copy of this pioneer Socialist magazine of the Far South? (It is boycotted by Madden, but still in the ring for Socialism and the overthrow of the present rotten conditions). It will be sent you three months on trial for ten cents. In the May issue will be published an article on "The Negro Under Present Conditions, and the Negro Under Socialism." This issue will be sent in bundle lots of ten copies or more at one cent each, which is less than the cost of printing and postage.

THE GRANDER AGE, Biloxi, Mississippi.

Workers by the millions undergo a process of slow but certain destruction in unsanitary workshops, or in dangerous or unhealthy occupations, many of which are quite unnecessary for the need of a properly organized community. — Alfred Russell Wallace.

Gleanings from Busy Socialistic Fields!

NOTE: In some states the organization is known as the Socialist Party, in others as the Social Democratic Party. Where the term "local" is used it does not refer to trade union locals, but to the local body.

NOTES FROM YANKEE LAND.

Organizer Goebel has been at work in Pennsylvania.

The New York Worker will issue a special May Day number.

German Organizer Saltiel will work in Pennsylvania during the fore part of May.

Comrade J. Stitt Wilson is working in Colorado again. He spoke in Denver last Sunday.

It is said that the courts in Colorado have interfered to keep prominent labor leaders of that state off the Socialist tickets.

The Appeal to Reason, of Girard, Kansas, will print a daily edition of its paper in Chicago, at the national convention, and pay city union wages for its typesetting.

Seymour Stedman and Ernest Untermann were the principal speakers in favor of the progressive program adopted by the Illinois state convention.

From the names that have appeared in the Socialist papers, it is clear that the national convention in Chicago next week will be made up of the best known comrades in the movement. How our mind runs back a few years!

The Seattle Socialist prints a half-ton reproduction of a photograph of the man who was chained to a telegraph pole at Telluride, Colo., by the tin soldiers who are now governing the people of that state. It will make a good exhibit to be used during the coming presidential campaign.

The labor papers are criticizing the speeches made at the Denver mass meeting by Mitchell and Lennon. Mitchell is said to have uttered some very rapid stuff about being a friend of Roosevelt and against Peabody. He had nothing to say about the conditions that make Peabody possible.

Ben Hanford is said to have downed the "Hon." Daniel Davenport in fine shape at the debate at Cooper Union, New York, last week. There were five thousand people present and the attorney of the Manufacturers' Association got a very small part of the thunders of applause. — It was the most effective public debate that has taken place in Gotham in a long time, we are informed.

Tactics That Failed.—Strenuous efforts were made by the employers of Milwaukee to keep down the Socialist vote at the municipal elections last week. In all the factories and workshops of the city notices were posted that all employes were to work a full-time day. The police closing early it was necessary for the men to leave their work, on pain of being docked or discharged, if they wished to vote at all. Though the men are supposed to have two hours off to vote, the machinery was nowhere stopped and every wage worker knows what the future consequences of such temerity would be, should he ignore the expressed wishes of the boss and quit to exercise his "inherent right" to vote. The workmen are free and independent of course. It is gratifying, however, to be able to report the signal failure of these bulldozing tactics of capitalists who are quaking in fear of an awakening of the working class at the ballot box. The result of the balloting showed that 18,983 Socialist votes had been cast. —Youngstown, O., Labor Advocate.

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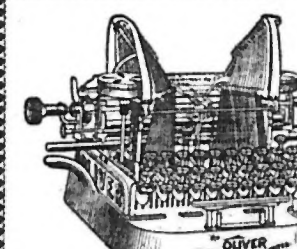
Notice to Camden, N. J., readers. L. Juster, 17 Hudson st., Camden, N. J., is authorized to take subscriptions for this paper.

The Independent Labor Party (Socialist) of England held its annual conference at Cardiff, Wales, last week. The delegates wore red rosettes. Their Hardie was unable to be present, and his absence, the first in years, was much regretted. An appreciation, introduced by Bruce Glasier, was passed with enthusiasm. The discussions were animated and able. After a good deal of oratory a motion on fusion with the other English party failed by a vote of 94 to 38. A resolution on woman suffrage was passed. Manchester was selected as the place for next year's meet. The office of secretary was separated from that of chief organizer and the secretary will remain at the head office as a fixture. Some of the subjects discussed were Housing, Physical Degeneration, Fair Rent Courts (to pass upon landlord extortions), Rural Depopulation, Sweated Goods, Minimum Wage, Unemployment, and the like. The new national board consists of Philip Snowden, chairman, Keir Hardie, J. Bruce Glasier, J. Ramsey MacDonald, Miss Ford, Mrs. Pankhurst, F. W. Jo-wett, and T. D. Benson.

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A PEEP INTO THE FUTURE.



Representing a Burial Ground that is Already much Needed!

ELECTED MILWAUKEE SOCIALISTS ARE IN HARNESS.

The County Board and its Committees.—The Social-Democrats present first Ordinance and Resolution at the new City Council. Want Evening Sessions.

At 10:30 o'clock, last Tuesday morning the new County Board of Milwaukee county held its first session at the court house, a session notable for the fact that for the first time in its existence the board of county fathers numbered in their midst four Social-Democrats. There was a profuse floral display, but almost without exception the desks of the Socialist members were bare, this being due to the attitude the members of the party in the city are taking on the subject of floral tributes. The exception was a very beautiful bouquet which the enthusiasm of the Twenty-third ward comrades had prompted them to send to Supervisor James Sheehan of the Eleventh ward. There were a large number of spectators and the usual excited hush at the meeting was rapped to order. Our comrades were more or less under the observation of the other supervisors during the session, although their line of conduct was generally understood from the start, it being the same as that followed by the Socialist aldermen at the first meeting of the City Council the week before.

The first business in order was the election of a chairman, and the Socialists in their turn nominated Comrade Sheehan, who received the full Socialist vote. And in this connection there was a significant thing—the fifteen Democrats in the body did not put up a candidate of their own, but voted solidly for the Republican candidate, F. J. Lemiech. This happy, capitalistic habit of working together after election on the part of the two capitalist party representatives also shows why corruption in official life is always non-partisan. In spite of their campaign bluster about watching the other fellow in office, one party is not a check on the other after election, and it must fall to the Social-Democrats to be the watch-dogs in the people's interests. In connection with the vote, also, the fact developed that several labor candidates who were elected on old party tickets and who before election had besought the help of organized labor in their campaign, voted with the other capitalistic representatives against the candidate of the working class, Sheehan, thus showing that they are in reality political scabs.

For vice chairman of the board, our comrades nominated and voted for Comrade Charles Jeske, supervisor of the Twentieth ward. Then followed a long address of the new

The Socialist Aldermen put on good Committees.

The adjourned meeting of the Milwaukee board of aldermen was held last Monday afternoon, the main feature of which was the appointment of committees. In spite of the prophecies of the daily press, the Social-Democratic members did not fare badly, and were, in fact, given positions on the two most important committees. The session was short and the following newspaper clippings will give an idea of the matters of interest to Socialists:

(From the Milwaukee Free Press.)

President Corcoran made twenty chairmanships of committees satisfy the ambitions of twenty-six Democratic aldermen, and made such a distribution of the other places on the committees as to be satisfactory to the eleven Republicans and the nine Social-Democrats.

Finance—Smith, Wittig, Barry, Stiglitz, Pringle, Becker, Heath.
 Judiciary—Stiglitz, Barry, Seidel, Sikorski, Hayes, Luedtke, Mallory, Sisk, Water Works—Braun, Schmitt, Lemanski, Bogk, Deuster, Meisenheimer, Petersen.
 Police—Fitzgerald, Schumacher, Weiler, Stollenwerk, McKinley, Becker, Walter.
 Fire Department—Connelly, Schmitt, Keener, Barry, Pringle, Raetz, Meisenheimer.

Health—Bogk, Kuschbert, Schumacher, Rittler, Klesner, Raetz, Stoetzer.
 Sewerage—Rittler, Bogk, Deuster, Wittig, Klesner, Cary, Welch.
 Street Lights—Steigerwald, Koerner, Kuschbert, Lemanski, Cary, Meyer, McKinley.
 Railroads—Luedtke, Fitzgerald, Weiler, Rittler, McKinley, Raetz, Lonsdorf.
 Bridges and Viaducts—Strachota, Barry, Connelly, Szymanski, Koerner, Cary, Pringle.
 Harbor—Wittig, Szymanski, Connelly, Braun, Weiler, Lonsdorf, Wild.
 Public Buildings and Grounds—Weiler, Strachota, Stollenwerk, Steigerwald, Fitzgerald, Fiehrantz, Meyer.
 Taxes—Hayes, Mallory, Klesner, Braun, Walter, Fiehrantz, Becker.
 Licenses—Klesner, Deuster, Bogk, Stollenwerk, Meyer, Stoetzer, Grantz.
 Printing—Deuster, Sikorski, Barry, Kuschbert, Rittler, Fiehrantz, Heath.
 Plats—Sikorski, Szymanski, Fitzgerald, Schumacher, Walter, Stiglitz, Maslewsky.
 Rules—Schmitt, Sikorski, Schumacher, Hayes, Lemanski, Lonsdorf, Wild.
 Legislation—Mallory, Steigerwald, Smith, Luedtke, Meisenheimer, Fiehrantz, Melms.
 Engrossed Ordinances—Koerner, Connelly, Wittig, Braun, Becker, Cary, Schrantz.
 Salaries—Kuschbert, Mallory, Szymanski, Strachota, Raetz, Stoetzer, Seidel.
 Little other business was transacted.

Ald. Welch and Heath introduced a resolution changing the time of council meetings from 4 o'clock in the afternoon to 7:30 o'clock at night. The resolution was referred to the committee on rules.

Ald. Melms introduced an ordinance authorizing the purchase of a site for and the erection of an isolation hospital outside the city limits and providing for the issuance of \$50,000 bonds for that purpose. It was referred to the committee on health and finance.

The next meeting of the council will be held on Monday afternoon. There will be meetings of the committees on finance, health and rules some time this week.

(From the Milwaukee Sentinel.)

The full membership of the council was present when the body was called to order and when the makeup of the committees was known, general satisfaction was expressed by the representatives of each party. None of the Republicans were made chairman and six Democrats were left without chairmanships. Even the Social-Democrats were well satisfied, as they had been given members on the principal committees of the body. Messrs. Heath and Melms expressed themselves as gratified with the work of the president.

HALF HOURS IN THE HERALD SANCTUM.

Social-Democratic Herald: You did find at election day. Not a paper here made any mention of it at all, though we wrote to all the papers asking about it. We sent the "Lodge" (which prints wise editorials against Socialism) a postal card with a big American flag in the center, crossed with a red flag, and French, German, English, Irish, Italian, Chinese, Japanese, Russian, and other flags around the edges of the card, forming a border, and the words, "Workers of the World, Unite." "Have

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any single instance, the imperative mandate must be applied, and that without mercy. They have been sent to their post of duty by Infinite Wisdom, and it is their province to lead their brethren to the Promised Land, even though the road leads through the wilderness and the Dead Sea. May they pray "As wise as serpents, yet harmless as doves."

Our Republican caucuses were pulled (that is the word) off last evening, and throughout the city the vote was almost exactly the sum of the Democratic and Republican vote of two years ago at the general election, that shows how the land lays, they begin to smell sulphur, the pit is not far ahead.

J. F. Miles.

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The National Convention of the Socialist party opens its sessions on Sunday morning at 10 o'clock, at Brand's hall, North Clark and Erie streets, Chicago, and will last several days.

Word comes from Chicago that since the Illinois state convention, in which the International Socialists won out against the Utopian DeLeonist no-immediate-demands fellows, there has been a heresy hunt in the Chicago local with several Socialists expelled from the party.

A writer in the New York Worker is making some suggestions relative to the work of the coming national convention takes the opportunity to express his "esteem and gratitude to the editors of the Worker, the Comrade and the Social-Democratic Herald for the work they have done to elevate the tone of the Socialist press." Thanks.

There is, in fact, but one crime in the universe, and all varieties of iniquity whatsoever are aspects or phases of this crime. It is the crime of exploitation—the suppression of interests, lives or welfare of some beings for the whim or convenience of others.

—J. Howard Moore.

The Herald is a clean paper that no one need be ashamed to read to friend or stranger. Spread the light of Socialism. To keep it concealed is a crime.

"Perish humanity, but save our money," is the first principle of bourgeois morality.—Paul Lafargue.

Comrade Isador Ladoff's new book, American Pauperism and the Abolition of Poverty, is precisely the book that Socialists have been seeking in vain for years. It embodies a deal of labor on the figures of the United States Census, which has resulted in bringing out the facts regarding the distribution of wealth and the real condition of the laborers, which our governing officials desired to conceal.

Mechanically the book is a wonder at the price. A capitalist publishing house would have charged at least \$1.25. Our price to anybody is fifty cents, and to our stockholders 30 cents including postage. If you are not a stockholder, write for our booklet "A Socialist Publishing House," and you will probably decide to join us.

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Town Topics by the Town Crier.

That a judge would issue an injunction forbidding locked-out tailors from visiting other tailors at their homes to discuss craft interests with them, seems almost beyond belief, yet such an injunction has just been issued by Judge Tarrant (La Flette) in Milwaukee and at the behest of a tailor boss who has so little respect himself for law and order that there were already two damage suits against him for assaulting tailors with whom he is in dispute. Yet one daring invasion of personal liberty by the capitalist courts makes it easier to go a step farther next time, and this extraordinary Tarrant injunction must be placed in the same category with that of the Rochester, N. Y., judge, who permitted a grand jury to indict a carpenter's union for alleged "conspiracy to raise wages." Under the capitalist law as interpreted by the capitalists on the bench, it is a crime against the people (the capitalist class) to want to improve and raise the standard of living of the working class.

The members of the Milwaukee tailors' union who have been enjoined, are: General Organizer McKee, President Iver Erickson and Secretary Joseph Smith of local No. 86, George Herbert, P. Tretino, George Frees, M. P. Lyden, John Benson, Edward Zwolsky, J. M. Korsan, A. Fessler, J. Luetzel, William Bauman, A. Lind, F. Horning, F. Stottenberg, F. Rutoski, P. Erickson, Edward Korsan, Charles Anderson, Henry Doetzen and the International Journeymen Tailors' union, No. 86.

In reality, the injunction secured by the Casey-Stressen-Reuter Co., was secured in the interests of the organization of the master tailors, who are hoping to use the lockout at the Casey shop to break down the union. In fact a member of the Merchant Tailors' association admitted to a daily paper that there was a move on nationally in favor of the open shop. An open shop condition would mean that the tailors would have no say as to the conditions under which they have to

work, which is certainly against the public interest, as the union has been fighting various evils, among them home work, in which the people generally ought to be interested. The interests of capitalism, which the courts are ready to serve, lie in trying to make the tailor workmen dumb slaves.

Following are the names of the comrades elected as delegates and alternates from Wisconsin to the Chicago convention, as a result of the referendum just closed. The full table of the vote will appear next week. The delegates are:

Victor L. Berger, Winfield R. Gaylord, E. H. Thomas, H. J. Ammann, Frederic Heath, Emil Seidel, Jacob W. Born, Frederic Broekhausen, R. O. Stoll, Jacob Hunger and J. M. W. Spence.

The alternates are: Ira Cross, E. T. Melms, Howard Tuttle, Henry Luther, W. A. Arnold, F. J. Weher, Herman W. Bistorius, W. H. Phelps, William Kaufman, Richard Elsner and Dr. W. A. Young.

The following comrades have been chosen as the committee to manage the big party picnic which will take place at Schlitz Park, Milwaukee, July 17:

1st Ward—Chas. Roessler; 2nd—(English) John Doerfler, Jr.; (German), Fritz Koll; 3rd—Peter O. Day; 4th—Nic. Peterson; 5th—J. Hanley; 6th—Chas. Grabowski; 7th—Dr. W. C. Young; 8th—Wm. Bauman; 9th—Hy. Ried; 10th—C. P. Dietz; (Bohemian) F. Gruner; 11th—H. W. Warshaw; 12th—Wm. Aldridge; Polish, Albert Albrecht; 13th—Ed. Ziegler; 14th—(Polish) M. Gorecki; 14th—John Kallas; 15th—Walter Davidson; 16th—J. Underhill; 17th—Tony Hesse; 18th—Robert Krueger; 19th—Frank Bauer; 20th—Phil. Siegel; 21st—H. W. Granitz; 22nd—Ang. Ehrmann; 23rd—F. W. Rehfeld.

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